

Message Text

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51

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 008807

O P 121215Z MAR 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2480

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0076

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 12, 1975

(SALT TWO-555)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING ON MARCH 12, 1975.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
MARCH 12, 1975

QUOTE

MR. MINISTER:

I

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TODAY I WILL CONTINUE THE EXPOSITION OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH I PRESENTED TO YOU ON MARCH 5. OUR MAJOR GOAL IN EXAMINING THE TEXT OF THE US DRAFT IN THIS MANNER IS TO CLARIFY THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WERE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT. WE BELIEVE IT IS IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF BOTH DELEGATIONS THAT THESE UNDERLYING FACTORS BE UNDERSTOOD. SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING, IN TURN, WILL HELP TO ANSWER QUESTIONS WHICH THE SOVIET DELEGATION MAY HAVE WITH RESPECT TO THE US DRAFT. AT THE SAME TIME, OF COURSE, WE STAND READY TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE WHICH WE MAY NOT HAVE ADDRESSED IN OUR FORMAL STATEMENTS.

I TURN NOW TO CONSIDERATION OF ARTICLE V OF THE US DRAFT WHICH CARRIES FORWARD RELEVANT LIMITATIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND CONTAINS CERTAIN OTHER RELATED PROVISIONS.

II

PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE V CARRIES OVER THE AGREED LIMITATION CONTAINED IN ARTICLE I OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WHICH PROHIBITS CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS. MINOR WORDING CHANGES HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED FOR CONSISTENCY AND CLARITY, BUT THE UNDERTAKING REMAINS THE SAME AS IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

IN THIS REGARD, THE TERM "LAND-BASED" WHICH MODIFIES ICBM LAUNCHERS IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT HAS BEEN OMITTED SINCE ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE US DRAFT DEFINES AN ICBM AS ANY "LAND-BASED" BALLISTIC MISSILE CAPABLE OF RANGES IN EXCESS OF 5,500 KILOMETERS. THUS, REPETITION OF THE TERM "LAND-BASED" WOULD BE REDUNDANT. IN ADDITION, PARAGRAPH 1 DOES NOT CONTAIN A SPECIFIC DATE FOR COMMENCEMENT OF THE BAN ON CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS, SINCE SUCH ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION IS ALREADY PROHIBITED BY THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE V ALSO MAKES EXPLICIT THE UNDERTAKING NOT TO RELOCATE EXISTING FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS. WE KNOW OF NO DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES THAT THE DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION OF A FIXED ICBM LAUNCHER IN ONE LOCATION AND THE "RELOCATION" OF THAT LAUNCHER TO ANOTHER PLACE IS PROHIBITED

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UNDER ARTICLE I OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THIS WORDING DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY CHANGE IN THE OBLIGATIONS BOTH SIDES ASSUMED UNDER THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THUS, PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE V OF THE US DRAFT AGREEMENT MAKES THIS UNDERSTANDING EXPLICIT.

PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE V CARRIES OVER THE OBLIGATION ASSUMED UNDER ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT REGARDING LAUNCHER CONVERSIONS FOR HEAVY ICBMS. THIS TERM "LAND-BASED" HAS ALSO BEEN

OMITTED HERE SINCE IT IS UNNECESSARY IN LIGHT OF THE DEFINITION OF AN ICBM CONTAINED IN ARTICLE II OF THE US DRAFT. THE TERM "NON-HEAVY" IS USED INSTEAD OF THE TERM "LIGHT" BOTH HERE AND IN ARTICLE II IN VIEW OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRESENT GENERATION OF SOVIET ICBMS. IN ALL OTHER RESPECTS, THIS PARAGRAPH IS IDENTICAL TO ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE V IS BASED ON THE AGREED INTERPRETATION AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING ASSOCIATED WITH THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO INCREASES IN ICBM SILO LAUNCHER DIMENSIONS. THE LIMITATIONS APPLY TO THE "ORIGINAL" LENGTH OR DIAMETER OF ALL ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS AS OF MAY 26, 1972. THESE "ORIGINAL" DIMENSIONS PROVIDE A BASELINE THAT THEREAFTER CANNOT BE EXCEEDED BY MORE THAN 15 PERCENT FROM THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT THROUGH THE DURATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, A SILO LAUNCHER INCREASED IN LENGTH BY 15 PERCENT DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT COULD NOT AGAIN BE INCREASED EITHER IN LENGTH OR IN DIAMETER DURING THE PERIOD OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE V ALSO MAKES CLEAR THAT ANY INCREASE WILL BE LIMITED TO ONE DIMENSION, EITHER LENGTH OR DIAMETER. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS PROVISION IS CONSISTENT WITH THE PRESENT UNDERSTANDING OF BOTH SIDES.

THE FOURTH PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE V ESTABLISHES A CEILING ON THE VOLUME AND THROW-WEIGHT OF HEAVY ICBMS. THE CEILING CLOSES A POTENTIAL CHANNEL FOR A FURTHER BUILDUP IN THE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF THIS PARTICULARLY DESTABILIZING TYPE OF WEAPON. THIS PROVISION ESTABLISHES THE VOLUME AND THE THROW-WEIGHT OF THE NEW SOVIET HEAVY ICBM WHICH WE CALL THE SS-18 AS THE UPPER LIMITS FOR THE LARGEST HEAVY ICBM WHICH CAN BE DEPLOYED.

PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE V CONTAINS AN UNDERTAKING NOT TO HAVE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT ANY TIME SLBM, MOBILE ICBM, OR ASBM

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LAUNCHERS OR HEAVY BOBMERS IN EXCESS OF A NUMBER CONSISTENT WITH A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION OR MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT SCHEDULE. THIS PROVISION IS DESIGNED TO PREVENT THE CIRCUMVENTION OF THE AGREEMENT BY THE EXCESSIVE BUILDUP OF STOCKS OF SYSTEMS UNDER CONSTRUCTION. THE PROBLEM ADDRESSED HERE IS SIMILAR TO THE ONE WHICH WAS CONSIDERED BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS WITH RESPECT TO BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES AND WAS RESOLVED IN THE AGREED SCC PROCEDURES OF JULY 3, 1974. THIS PARAGRAPH ADOPTS THE SAME APPROACH TO OTHER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THE SIXTH PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE V ESTABLISHES APPROPRIATE LIMITS ON EXTRA MISSILES AND RELOAD CAPABILITIES FOR ICBM LAUNCHERS IN ORDER TO PREVENT CIRCUMVENTION OF THE LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHER NUMBERS. THIS PARAGRAPH WOULD NOT PREVENT THE SIDES FROM FULFILLING THEIR NORMAL MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENT

REQUIREMENTS. IN THE ABM TREATY, BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZED THE DESIRABILITY OF SUCH MEASURES AS THESE TO SUPPLEMENT A MISSILE LAUNCHER LIMIT. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS AGREED APPROACH IS ALSO APPROPRIATE FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. SUCH AN APPROACH SERVES TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

III

MR. MINISTER, THIS CONCLUDES MY STATEMENT FOR TODAY. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING OUR PRESENTATION ON THE US DRAFT AGREEMENT AT OUR SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS. IN PARTICULAR, I WOULD WELCOME AN INCREASED DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR TWO DELEGATIONS IN ORDER TO CLARIFY FURTHER ANY AREAS OF UNCERTAINTY WITH RESPECT TO THE INTENDED EFFECT OF THE PROVISIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROPOSED FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT.
UNQUOTEJOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SALT TWO 555, SPEECHES, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00076
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750086-0651
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750358/aaaabzxl.tel
Line Count: 186
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUN 2003 by WorrelSW>; APPROVED <19 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 12, 1975 (SALT TWO-555)
TAGS: PARM, (JOHNSON, U ALEXIS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006